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### RECENT MODERN HISTORY.—“BLACK-HAWK WAR.”

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 32.)

The Indians were now in a most deplorable condition: they had already contended with the American people in a war of three years continuation, assisted by Great Britain and her Canadian subjects. But their British and Canadian friends had now deserted them: news of the restoration of peace between the United States and Great Britain had but recently reached their country, whereupon the officers commanding the forces of the latter, either through necessity or of choice, had shamefully deserted their Indian allies, and making their way to Canada, left these unfortunate Saw-kees and Mus-quaw-kees to the mercy of the United States, to make peace with them upon any terms which the latter might think proper to dictate.

Thus being deserted by their British coadjutors, and already worn down with the toils and fatigues of a war, prosecuted until many whole tribes, which had joined in it, had suffered a most distressing and exemplary punishment; unable any longer to contend, they were under the absolute necessity of acceding to any terms of peace which the United States might offer to them. The chiefs and warriors therefore urged these with many other considerations upon the mind of Black Sparrow; at the same time, desiring him as he valued the lives of their women and children, their aged and helpless parents, yea, and even their whole nation, that he would, in the morning as soon as the council was convened, make an apology to the Commissioners for his late insolence; and during the

progress of the council, that he would carefully avoid giving any further "offence to these men, who now held in their hands the fate of our nation:" "and if," said they, "by recognizing the acts of these imposters of our own nation, we lose a great part of our country, yet by it we shall save the lives of our wives and children, fathers and mothers: but if we refuse, and are forced to continue the war, we shall assuredly lose all."

After having this absorbing subject under the most anxious deliberation until the morning signal summoned them to the council, the chiefs and warriors were much gratified to see Black Sparrow, in pursuance of their urgent request, come forward in the council and make the following apology to the commissioners, for the insult which he had given the evening before. "My friends—inasmuch as the Almighty has permitted us all, this morning, once more to assemble around this council fire, to smoke the pipe of peace; and as the same Great Spirit has also given us this morning a clear sun, and a cloudless sky, all of which I have ever viewed as evidences of his approbation; I am induced to believe that he is pleased with our council, and that he intends that it shall terminate in our mutual benefit: I shall therefore finish by admitting, that according to these evidences, I was wrong yesterday in accusing the commissioners with lying; and for the same reasons, I am convinced that the commissioners will not say anything false or wrong, neither do us injustice at this treaty." This apology being accepted on the part of the commissioners, the council again proceeded to deliberate on the necessary stipulations to be introduced in this treaty of peace and amity now about to be entered into.

The reader will readily perceive the helpless condition of one of the contracting parties at the making of this treaty. They had been informed in the most positive terms, only the day previous, that a refusal on their part to comply with the terms, which the commissioners in the plenitude of their power, might think proper to tender to them, would inevitably involve them in the necessity of continuing a war, which they were already convinced by sorrowful experience they could no longer sustain. Therefore, the only choice left them at this distressing crisis, was either to acknowledge that a sale of all their country east of the Mississippi river, and a vast tract west of the same, which had been made by a few drunken vagabonds of their tribe, acting without either the knowledge or consent of their nation, was valid and obligatory on their whole nation; or otherwise, by withholding their assent

to this shameful imposition, to expose their whole tribe to unavoidable ruin.

It is truly worthy of observation, that under these circumstances, the commissioners should in the very first article of this treaty introduce the subject as follows, to wit:

"ARTICLE I. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves, and that portion of the Sawkees which they represent, do hereby assent to the treaty between the United States of America, and the united tribes of Saw-kees and Mus-quaw-kees, which was concluded at St. Louis on the 3d day of November 1804: and they moreover promise to do all in their power to re-establish and enforce the same."

The candid reader is, no doubt astonished, that the commissioners should be so much more anxious for the recognition of this old treaty, than they were for the restoration of peace. But when he takes a view of the advantages to be derived from it by the Americans, if confirmed, his astonishment will subside.

To say nothing of the value and importance of that great tract of land West of the Mississippi, now almost the very heart of the State of Missouri, we pass to the "mouth of the river Jefferson," a river, generally known by the name of North two river, which empties itself into the Mississippi a little distance above the town of Hannibal, in the State of Missouri. We are enabled to take a view of the extent of the ceded land included in this purchase, by following the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois river, to the mouth of the Ouiconsin, a distance little short of five hundred miles, thence across the country as defined by the treaty, to the Illinois river, and down the same to its mouth: including within these limits, the whole tract of Illinois Military bounty lands in its southern division, the whole of the Illinois mining country, together with the great lead mines of the Michigan Territory, in its northern division; while a vast country of excellent land watered by Rock river, and many other beautiful streams, stretches itself between those two divisions. Neither will the reader be surprised at the pertinacity of Black Sparrow, and his associates, in withholding their assent to this spurious treaty, until reduced to the last extremity; when we reflect for a moment on the comparatively insignificant sum of "two thousand two hundred and thirty four dollars and *fifty cents!* in goods which are now delivered," together with "an annuity of six hundred dollars to the Saw-kees, and four hundred to the Mus-quaw-kees, also to be paid in goods:" If it be urged that a greater consequence was

attached to the other part of the consideration, to wit: "the friendship and protection of the United States," it may be replied, that so far as "friendship" can be concerned, we presume that the honorable members of the Indian department of our government are not prepared to admit, that they have ever sold the "friendship of the United States," to those tribes of Indians, in exchange for land: but if it should be affirmed, that according to the language of that treaty, "the friendship of the United States" is acknowledged as a part, and the *first* part of the "CONSIDERATION," received by the Indians in payment for their lands, we should fear for the fate of this contract, if it were possible to introduce it in a Court of Chancery.

And again, so far as the "protection of the United States," may be viewed as a part of the price paid for this tract of country, we are well aware of the fact, that the United States never did engage to espouse the Saw-kee and Mus-quaw-kee cause, in case of hostilities arising between them and other Indian tribes.

Do the commissioners mean to say by this clause in the treaty, that they will "protect" the Saw-kees and Mus-quaw-kees from acts of violence or injustice offered to them by citizens of the United States? No: They can never admit that they required the Saw-kee and Mus-quaw-kee nation of Indians to purchase justice at such an enormous rate. What "protection" then does this treaty allude to? These Indians did not expect the United States to extend either friendship or protection beyond the bounds of natural justice, because they have sense enough to know that that would be denied. Therefore this proffered friendship and protection, which occupy so conspicuous a place in the first named consideration, given in exchange for a country of immense value, appear to be merely high-sounding words which in reality mean nothing.

The usual solicitude evinced, at almost every subsequent treaty, by the Commissioners appointed to treat with these Indians, to secure the repeated assent of these tribes to this disputed cession of land, can be construed in no other way, than as so many testimonials of their own conviction of the injustice of the original transaction.

It is not, probably, within the knowledge of every reader, that all that country north of Rock Island, embracing both the lead mines of Illinois, and those within Michigan Territory, which were included within the limits of this purchase, did not belong to the Saw-kees and Mus-quaw-kees; and has long



subsequently been purchased again by the United States, of the other tribes of Indians which appeared to have a fair claim to the country. Such were the Winnebagoes, Ottoways, and the Pottowattomies. The Sawkees and Mus-quawkees could not reasonably suppose that the United States would require them to warrant and defend the title to a country which they did not own, and which had not been sold to the United States by any national authority, and for which the nation had never received any consideration; as the \$2234.50 stipulated in the treaty, had been paid over to those same drunken imposters who had signed the same, and was also spent by them in the grog-shops of St. Louis, before they left that place. They acknowledged themselves to have been drunk all the time that they remained in St. Louis, and hence alleged that they did not know what they had done while they were there. The writer has no doubt, from his own personal knowledge of Quas-quaw-ma, that he would have sold to Gov. Harrison, at that time, all the country east of the Rocky Mountains, if it had been required.

The next matter connected with this affair, to which we shall call the reader's attention, is the fact, that all that part of the Quas-quaw-ma purchase north of Rock river, was within the boundaries of other tribes, as considered and settled in subsequent treaties, and by running the respective boundary lines; except a small tract containing a few sections of land on the point between Rock river and the Mississippi, above the mouth of the former, which was left to the Saw-kees and Mus-quaw-kes. Upon this little neck of land was situated the principal village of their nation; it had been a kind of metropolis, probably for the last sixty years; their women had broken the surface of the surrounding prairie with their hoes, and enclosed, with a kind of flimsy pole fence, many fields, which were annually cultivated by them, in the raising of corn, beans, potatoes, squashes, &c. &c. They had also erected several hundred houses of various dimensions, some probably an hundred feet in length by forty or fifty broad; which were constructed of poles and forks, arranged so as to form a kind of frame, which was then enclosed with the bark of trees, which, being peeled off and dried under a weight for the purpose of keeping it expanded, was afterwards confined to the walls and roof by means of cords composed of the bark of other trees. This is indeed a delightful spot:—on the north-west rolls the majestic Mississippi, while the dark forests which clothe the numerous Islands of Rock river, with its several rippling streams on the south-east, form a delightful

contrast, which is rendered still more pleasing from the gentle declivity of the surrounding country, as it sinks gradually away to the shores of these rivers. This ancient village had literally become the *grave-yard* of the nation. Scarcely an individual could be found in the whole nation, who had not deposited the remains of some near relation, in or near to this place. Thither the mother with mournful and melancholy step, annually repaired, to pay a tribute of respect to her departed offspring; while the weeping sisters, and loud-lamenting widows joined the procession of grief; sometimes in accordance with their own feelings, no doubt, but always in pursuance of an established custom of their nation, from time immemorial. On these occasions they carefully clear away every spear of grass or other vegetable, which they find growing near the grave, and make such other repairs as may be thought necessary. They also carry to the grave some kind of food, which they leave there for the spirit of the deceased: and before they conclude these ceremonies, they often in a very melancholy and lamenting mood, address the dead, inquiring how they fare, and who, or whether any one performs for them, the kind offices of mother, sister, wife, &c., together with a thousand other inquiries which a frantic imagination might suggest. This being one of the most important religious duties, is scrupulously observed by all the better class of this people.

At this delightful spot, this people had uniformly spent the summers for many years; retiring in the winters to their several hunting grounds on the Lower Ioway, Skunk, Des Moines rivers, &c., and returning again every spring in time to cultivate their fields. When the United States established a military post on Rock Island, (Fort Armstrong) at the distance of about three or four miles from this village, at first, the Indian women, who always perform all the labor, had large quantities of corn &c., to sell at the Garrison every fall; but so soon as they became familiar with the soldiery, the clerks and other persons employed in the Fur Companies, &c. &c., they began immediately to relax in their habits of industry. And the facilities which were offered them, in obtaining spirituous liquors, contributed greatly to their degeneracy. We cannot here neglect calling the attention of the reader to a remark made by Mr. Flint in his "History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley," page 106-7: "We have always had individuals in our country, who would constantly avail themselves of the opportunity, to distribute among them, (the Indians,) the poison of ardent spirits. But our Government, it must be admitted, has practised towards them a steady and

dignified moderation, and an untiring forbearance. Its provisions, to prevent the use of whiskey among them, have been severe, and in general faithfully carried into effect."

That our Government has, by certain provisions, intended to prohibit the sale of ardent spirits to Indians, is certainly true; but that these regulations have been "faithfully carried into effect," the author regrets that an experience of more than thirty years residence on the frontiers of the Ohio and Mississippi Valley, forces him to disbelieve. This species of contraband speculation is almost universally entered into by all classes of citizens who settle in the vicinity of the Indians, and who are able to procure a barrel, or even a keg or jug of this desirable commodity.

The Indian Traders, therefore, in order to secure their custom, and prevent the Indians from going elsewhere to trade, have always under these circumstances provided themselves with a supply of whiskey. And further, all enactments by the general government, or by the authorities of individual States, for the prevention of this traffic, have ever been extremely unpopular on the frontiers, being received by the populace, as an unwarrantable intermeddling of the government with the private affairs and local concerns of individuals.

Hence it has been with these, as with any other laws or regulations, in a Government like ours, which oppose the current of public opinion; they are known indeed in the books which contain them, but seldom, or never known in practical application. Many of the officers of our Government would be astonished to hear of the sale of thousands and tens of thousands of gallons of whiskey to Indians, not only by the private individuals before alluded to, who obtain it by the keg or jug-full to trade on, but by those very licensed traders who are commissioned by our Government to carry on a trade in merchandize with the Indians, to the exclusion of others. These traders, it is affirmed, have immense quantities of whiskey conveyed to some convenient points, on some island in the Mississippi, or to any other place, so as to avoid the liabilities of their bond to the Government of the United States, where the philanthropists of our Government, who are sent among the Indians to relieve their distresses, and ameliorate their deplorable condition, deal out with the most liberal prodigality, this bane of the savage race. We might ask this question: did any man ever pass through the Saw-kee village at the mouth of Rock river, after the establishment of a military post on Rock Island, without seeing more or less intoxicated Indians? I think not; at least for the last ten years,

which the Indians spent at that place, we are warranted in believing that the village was never *one day* clear of drunkenness, during the season that the Indians resided in it. But as we purpose reviewing this subject more minutely hereafter, we shall dismiss it for the present, and return to the subject under consideration.

The Indians of the Saw-kee and Mus-quaw-ke tribes thought for many years, that as all the country sold by Quas-quaw-ma north of Rock river, had been recognized by the United States, to be the territory of other tribes, and had by them been purchased of those tribes, and having given up all the country which really did belong to them, south of the mouth of Rock river, this little tract of land upon which stood their ancient village, north of the mouth of Rock river, would not be claimed by the white people as being legally purchased at the Quas-quaw-ma treaty; it being in fact only an infringement of the Saw-kees and Musquaw-kes upon the territory of the Pottowatomies, at the date of Quas-quaw-ma's treaty, but subsequently relinquished to them by the Pottowatomies, and therefore had never been ceded to the United States by either party. In pursuance of this view of the case, when the first American citizens attempted to make a settlement there, the Indians applied immediately to their agent at Rock Island, to have them removed, or prevented from settling on their land, agreeably to the provisions of the fourth Article of the previously recited treaty. This request was partially complied with; the white people were ordered not to settle on their (the Indian) lands. But the temptation was too strong to be withstood for any considerable length of time. This beautiful situation presented so many advantages; here were buildings which would afford excellent shelter to horses, cattle, &c., (and some of them did serve for dwelling houses for the first American families who settled in that place,) here were also hundreds of acres of excellent land already in a state of cultivation: two objects of the first importance in settling a new country, covetousness soon suggested means to remove the Indians from their native village, as the only possible method by which the white people could obtain possession of this desirable spot. To this end, therefore, in the winter of 1827, at a time, as has been before observed, when the Indians always abandon their villages and retire to their wintering grounds, certain white men, of the number of those who desired to succeed the Indians in the occupancy of their village, set on fire about forty principal houses in the village, in one day: a part only, however, of these were consumed.



at that time, the fire not taking effect, as contemplated by these incendiaries. When the Indians returned to their village in the spring of the next year, they saw the outrage which had been committed, they demanded satisfaction for those injuries which had been so wantonly perpetrated on their property. But instead of receiving any indemnity for their losses, the Indians only exposed themselves to repeated insults from those unprincipled men.

This last sentence may in the estimation of the reader require an apology, or some further justification. We are therefore, reluctantly, compelled to pay a passing notice to the general character of the first white settlers about Rock river, though it is with pleasure admitted, that there were some very honorable exceptions. That these men should disagree with the Indians, we are not surprised, when we hear of the shameful turmoils which they had among themselves, witness the burning each others cordwood at the steam-boat landings, also the throwing down and burning of houses, hog-stealing, and even the stabbing each other with knives, &c. &c. These are some of the acts and doings of these "peaceable and quiet citizens," who complained so bitterly to Gov. Reynolds of Illinois, against the Indians, for attempting again to occupy their old village, who in justification of this attempt alleged that they had never sold that land, and that the claim of the white people to it was without foundation in justice; or, to adopt the language of the Indians, as ascribed to them by the aforesaid complainants, "that we have stolen their lands from them." Another remark in these lamentable complaints, or petitions, is probably worthy of observation, to wit: "we consider ourselves compelled to beg protection of you," (Gov. Reynolds,) "which the agent and garrison on Rock Island refuse to give." Again, "The agent tells us that they (the Indians) are a lawless band, and he has nothing to do with them until further notice!" It was within the knowledge of the agent, as well as the officer of the United States Army, who commanded at that post, that existing circumstances warranted the belief that *two* "lawless bands," one of white, and the other of red men, had come in contact with each other. And for this reason they felt no disposition to act, "until further orders." It is a well known fact, that the United States military officers on the frontiers, are not at all slack or tardy in their efforts to redress any real injuries which have been done to the white settlers by the Indians; and their apparent neglect on this occasion, was probably owing to the graceless conduct of many of these white pioneers of the

west. At one time might be seen, one of these humble petitioners mounted on horseback, with a long ox whip in his hand, inflicting the most cruel and inhuman castigations upon Indian women and children: on another occasion our attention is arrested by an assemblage of these *affirmants* engaged in beating with clubs and sticks, an individual Indian, who, in a fit of intoxication, was attempting to throw down a fence, which had been recently erected across his path.

To recount even a small proportion of the acts of cowardice, and brutish inhumanity, of which some individuals among these first settlers, were guilty, would tax the patience of our readers with a catalogue of human depravities, the bare recollection of which is painful to our memory.

A great stress has been placed on the assumption, "that these American citizens had purchased the land from the General Government," &c., it will next engage our attention to shew the reader that here again we have an unusual and singular transaction. A few fractional townships, including this disputed village, are brought into market and offered for sale at Springfield, Illinois, in 1829, at which time all the neighboring country, for the extent of a hundred miles around, had never yet been offered for sale by the Government: thus bringing this place into market while the frontier settlements had not yet approximated within fifty miles of it. The ostensible object in this article, was evidently to evade the common sense meaning of the seventh article of the aforesaid treaty; which provides that, "as long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States, remain their property, the Indians belonging to their tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them." This little tract of land was therefore brought forth prematurely, to gratify the covetousness of a few individuals who envied its unfortunate occupants, the advantages which it afforded them, and we have no doubt that the same individuals would act in like manner towards any American citizen with whose plantation they might be equally fascinated, provided they could avail themselves of any legal equivocations to accomplish their purposes.

We wish it to be distinctly understood here, that we attach no blame to the Chief Magistrate of the United States, for bringing this land into market at the time and under the circumstances which he did: but we do question the purity of the motives of those who made the application for the sale. And our suspicions on this ground receive still greater confirmation, when we learn that only five quarter sections, or fractions of land were sold at this sale, and they too, only at

the minimum price of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. This circumstance alone, shews the extent of that necessity which compelled the removal of the Indians. We are therefore of opinion, that if none but such as had purchased land in that place, or such as had before that time, and since, shown themselves to be peaceable and quiet citizens, had signed those woful petitions, and distressing affidavits, which were poured in upon the Governor of Illinois, begging for his protection, they would have had but a meagre list of subscribers. By a reference to those documents, which are now on file in the office of the War Department, it may be seen that the petitions to Governor Reynolds for protection were signed by about thirty-five or six persons: one third of whom are a chain of near family connexions. As these petitions together with their accompanying depositions have been paraded with great seeming consequence before the public, and are continually referred to as containing the grand cause of the late war with those Indians, we trust it will not be deemed invidious in the writer, if he should at this time carefully examine their merits. It is quite remote from our purpose to wish to detract from the personal or private character of any individual; but if it should be the result in the course of this investigation, it will be entirely owing to the attitude assumed by such individual, and not to any disposition on our part to make a private assault.

We shall first examine the petition dated "April 30th 1831," and having already adverted to some matters set forth therein, we need not repeat them here: we shall, however, make a few general remarks. The idea conveyed to the public by the general tenor of this petition, as well as almost every other document on the subject, evidently is, that the Indians had re-crossed the Mississippi river in great numbers, say "six or seven hundred," in a tumultuous manner, and immediately set about committing those awful depredations complained of; than which nothing can be more incorrect.

It is a fact well known to every person who has any knowledge of Indian character, that they always, (as has been before observed,) abandon their villages in or about the month of September, and retire to their wintering grounds to hunt; and at the breaking up of winter they engage in manufacturing the maple sugar; then they next commence their march towards their villages, by slow and protracted removes; engaged in the mean while, in hunting the wild fowl &c. In this manner, they reach their village about the month of April, sooner or later, as the season may happen to be early

or late; never, or seldom entering their town until the weather has become quite moderated. The expediency of this last circumstance is manifest to every person who has seen their town-houses. Hence the return of the Indians in April 1831, could not have been thought by themselves, any novel or outrageous act; having done the same every spring, during the whole period of their lives. That they felt annoyed by the settling of white families in and near the town, during their absence, is quite certain; and that they were enraged at the arrogance and impudence of these new-comers, is likewise very probable; but when they saw, superadded to these circumstances, the wanton destruction of their houses, by burning, throwing down &c.; the most graceless and coward-like beating of their women and children, and the clanish combinations of these white neighbors, in sustaining the conduct of each other in all their acts of violence and injustice towards themselves,—we are not surprised that these sons of the forest should have become almost or altogether frantic with rage. That the above picture is literally true, though faintly drawn, let no man presume to deny, though we do wish, for the credit of our country, that it were not true. The before mentioned petition having been forwarded to Gov. Reynolds, was, shortly after, to wit,—May the 19th of the same year, followed by another, in the hand of a special delegate, appointed for the express purpose, from among their own number, to lay the petition together with all their grievances generally before his Excellency, in St. Clair county, and State of Illinois. We will now call the attention of the reader to this *trial*. Here is a declaration filed before the highest tribunal in the State of Illinois, accusing “six or seven hundred” persons of crimes of the highest grade. The plaintiffs in this suit have prepared several depositions, (say five,) to be read as evidence before this tribunal, without notifying the defendants of their intention, time, place, &c., of taking such depositions; the plaintiffs themselves being also the only deponents: the court too, is convened at the distance of two hundred miles from, and without the knowledge of the defendants. Under these circumstances, what plaintiff would not be ready for trial! We will now proceed with the testimony in that numerical order in which it has been so sagaciously arranged by a late admirable writer on this subject, as copied from the Report of Maj. Gen. E. P. Gaines, of the United States Army to the War Department.

Deposition No. 1. This deposition being taken before one of the plaintiffs, and sworn to by eight persons of the same



party, sets forth that the Saw-kee Indians had "threatened to kill them; that they had acted in a most outrageous manner; threw down their fences, turned horses into their cornfields, stole their potatoes, saying *the land was theirs, and that they had not sold it*,—although said deponents had purchased the land of the United States Government; levelled deadly weapons at the citizens, and on some occasions, hurt some of the said citizens for attempting to prevent the destruction of their property;" &c. &c., and finally this deposition concludes with the relation of an act little to be expected among white men, much less among Indians, to wit: "they then went to another house, rolled out a barrel of *whiskey*, and destroyed it!!" The bare recollection of such extravagance, will doubtless draw water from the *mouths* of many, whose *eyes* refuse the sympathetic tear.

*To be continued.*

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#### DEATH, CHARACTER, TALENTS, MODE OF LIFE &c., OF POWHATAN.

There are too many memorable passages in the history of this celebrated chieftain, and too many remarkable traits in his character, to be passed over with a mere general notice. But, previous to any other comment, it may be proper to mention certain facts respecting him, which belong rather to the curious, than to the characteristic class. In the case of all great men, as well as of many noted men who are not great, there is a good deal of information generally to be gathered, which may be interesting without being strictly important. Powhatan was both a great and a noted man, though a savage; and the rude circumstances under which he proved himself the one, and made himself the other, should only render him the more signally an object of popular admiration and of philosophical regard.

In person, he is described, by one who saw him frequently, as a tall well-proportioned man, with a severe aspect; his head slightly grey; his beard thin (as that of the Indians always is;) and "of a very able and hardy body to endure any labor." As he appeared to be about sixty years of age, when the English first saw him, in 1607, he was probably about seventy at his death. He troubled himself but little with

public affairs during his last years, leaving the charge of them chiefly to Opechancanough, as his viceroy, and taking his own pleasure in visiting the various parts of his dominions.

We have already had occasion to observe, that he had as many as three or four places of residence. Werowocomoco was abandoned for Oropakes, with the view of keeping at an agreeable distance from the Colonists. The latter became a favorite resort. There, at the distance of a mile from the village, he had a house in which were deposited his royalties and his revenue—skins, copper, beads, red paint, bows and arrows, targets and clubs. Some of these things were reserved for the time of his burial; others were the resources of war. The house itself was more than one hundred feet in length—one historian says fifty or sixty yards—and as it seems to have been frequented only by the Indian priests, probably a sacred character attached to it in the minds of the multitude, which was one of the means of its security. Four rudely-graven images of wood were stationed at the four corners; one representing a dragon, the second a bear, the third a panther, and the fourth a gigantic man—all made evil-favoredly, as we are told, but according to the best workmanship of the natives.

The *state* which Powhatan adopted as emperor, appears in some degree from the preceding details of his history. He is said to have kept about his person from forty to fifty of the tallest men in his dominions; which might be the case in war, and upon occasions for parade and ceremony, more regularly than in peaceable and ordinary times. Every night, four sentinels were stationed at the four corners of his dwelling; and at each half-hour one of the body guard made a signal to the four sentinels. Want of vigilance on their part was punished with the most exemplary strictness.

According to the universal custom of the North-American natives, he kept as many wives as he thought proper; and is represented to have taken no little pleasure in their society. When the English saw him at home, reclining on his couch or platform, there was always one sitting at his head, and another at his feet; and when he sat, two of them seated themselves on either side of him. At his meals, one of them brought him water in a wooden platter to wash his hands, before and after eating; and another attended with a bunch of feathers for a towel. Some were the daughters, and had been the wives of distinguished rivals and enemies, conquered in battle. When he became weary of them, he transferred them as presents to his favorite warriors.

A general proof of the talents of Powhatan may be found in the station which he held, as well as the reputation he enjoyed far and wide among his countrymen. The Indian tribes are democracies. He who rules over them must acquire and sustain his influence by his absolute intellect and energy. Friends and family may assist, occasionally, in procuring rank; but they will not secure the permanent possession of it. Generally, therefore, the head Sachem may be looked upon as comparatively a model of those qualities which his countrymen esteem suitable to that dignity. He must not only be a warrior, brave, hardy, patient, and indefatigable; but he must show talents for controlling the fortunes, and commanding the respect of the community which he governs.

But in this case there is better evidence; and especially in the ultimate extent of Powhatan's government as compared with his hereditary dominions. These included but six tribes of the thirty which were finally subject to him, and all which must have become attached to his rule, in consequence of the character maintained, and the means adopted by himself. Among others were the Chickahoneineis, a very warlike and proud people, numbering from two to five hundred warriors, while the Powhatans proper, (the original nucleus, so to speak of the emperor's dominion,) numbered less than a hundred. The fear which these savages entertained of him, appears on many occasions, and particularly when they embraced an opportunity, in 1611, of exchanging his yoke for that of the English. They were so desirous of this change—or in other words, of procuring what they considered the protection of the new master against the power of the old—that they offered to adopt a national name indicating their subjection. A peace was accordingly concluded on condition—

I. That they should be forever called Tassautessus (Englishmen,) and be true subjects to King James and his deputies.

II. They were neither to kill nor detain any of the Colonists, or their cattle, but to return them on all occasions.

III. They should stand ready to furnish three hundred warriors for the Colony's service, against the Spaniards or any other enemy.

IV. They were not to enter the English settlements, but to send word they were new Englishmen, (an obscure provision, meant to prevent confounding them with other tribes.)

V. Every fighting man, at the beginning of harvest, was to pay two bushels of corn as a tribute, receiving the same number of hatchets in return.

VI. The eight chief men were to see all this performed, on forfeit of being punished themselves. Their salary was to be a red coat, a copper chain, the picture of King James, and the honor of being accounted *his* noblemen.

This treaty was concluded with a general assent, manifested by acclamation; and then one of the old men began a speech, addressing himself to those of his own age, then to the young, and lastly to the women and children, a multitude of whom were present. He gave them to understand how strictly these conditions must be observed, and how safe they should then be, on the other hand, "*from the furie of Powhatan, or any enemie whatsoever,*" besides being furnished with arms to resist them. The name of the emperor, it will be observed, is not inserted in the article of peace; there was supposed to be a hazard, probably, of its coming to his ears; and he had then himself just concluded an amicable treaty. "But all this," adds our historian, "was rather for feare, Powhatan and we being so linked together, would bring them again to his subjection: the which to prevent, they did rather chuse to be protected by us, than torminted by him, whom they held a tyrant."

Of the whole Indian population between the sea-coast and the Alleghany, from east to west, and between the borders of Carolina and the river Patuxent, in Maryland, from south to north, all who were not subject to Powhatan's dominion, were leagued against him. The former class comprised the lowland tribes; and the latter, the mountaineers. In the language of Stith, the Monocans and the Mannahoacks formed a confederacy against the power and tyranny of Powhatan. Another writer says, that he also fought against the famous Massawomekes; a powerful and populous nation, thought to be situated upon a great salt-water, "which by all probability is either some part of Cannada, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South Sea." This is not a very definite description, even for Smith to give; but the Massawomekes are generally understood to have been no other, we believe, than the celebrated Five Nations of New-York. At all events, they were exceedingly troublesome to the northernmost tribes of Powhatan—which might be a principal reason why they submitted the more willingly to him. And thus, while the greater part of his own empire was a conquered one, he was environed by foreign enemies in every direction, including the civilized colony on the sea coast.

*To be continued.*